/128 cont./

121 exist, even among savages, since it could be said that, just as there is no people without God, neither is there a people that does not show Him homage in some way.

771 124 As far as the Chiriguano are concerned, I have tried to find out with special care, constancy, and assiduousness what religion they profess and what type of worship they render to their divinities. But all my efforts have been in vain. This is no doubt due to their state of ignorance as a result of their savage life.

[115] I have asked the oldest men of the tribe about their religion, and I have only received vague and insufficient answers on every point, thus being unable to form any idea, even an approximate one, of the religion which they profess. It is beyond doubt true, however, that the Chiriguano have some religion, since they recognize a superior being. They admit the immortality of the soul, rewards and punishments in the other life, and they preserve certain Biblical traditions which would have no explanation if they did not believe in a god and perhaps in the Jehovah of the Holy Bible, or God, Creator of all things (1).

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[805] [191] [192]

1. The Chiriguano, like the Hebrews, count the months by moons, and they have other very similar customs. It is very notable that they also have some Hebrew words.

577 991 /129/ The Chiriguano must have a moral code, that is, natural law, perhaps augmented by some traditional precepts, since they admit rewards for the good and punishment for the bad.

The law, to the extent that it is imperative, comes from the same God, but only religion serves as its base, and this teaches men that it is an unavoidable duty to submit to the precepts of the Supreme Legislator, under penalty of falling into grave punishments conceived by Him.

From what has been said, it can be understood as a logical consequence that the Chiriguano do profess some religion, even though this might not be known.

/129 cont./

796 This same thing is not true with respect to the external
78 demonstrations of worship. The Chiriguano, like every savage
• 771 people, have no temples, priests, or ceremonial to regulate manifestations of worship. Does this also demonstrate that they completely lack external demonstrations of veneration of a god? It is not easy to give a categorical answer regarding this, because
[186] if it is the truth, as now seems to be the case, for I have not been able to discover any fact which shows the existence of that worship, this could be explained if we take into account the fact that the savage, because of his condition of isolation in the midst of the forest, is distrustful; he looks at the white man with suspicion. This is more than sufficient reason for him to hide his religious acts from the view of the latter.

Nobody could deny us the exactness and solid foundation of this observation, since it is a fact that civilized men, even among themselves, are ashamed to practice religious acts for human reasons, from whence comes the fact that they neither fulfill the duties of their religion nor come to the churches, and, what is worse, they make a show of a religious indifference which is very far from what in fact they feel.

Let us agree then that the Chiriguano does profess some religion, like all other peoples of the world.

This conclusion will be corroborated by what we are going to see in the following sections.

Divinities

796 That the Chiriguano have some divinities is undeniable, but it is very difficult to determine what character they have and to what category they belong according to the concepts of these savages. This is the reason why it is impossible to determine with certainty whether or not they /130/ profess polytheism or monotheism, when one considers the diversity of excellence, power, and pre-eminence which they attribute to their divinities.

/139 cont./

Belief in the Future Life

[775] This belief has suffered many more alterations than the previous one; nevertheless it reveals that even under the rude and ignorant nature of the poor Indian and the unfortunate Chiriguano there is in force the idea of the great philosopher, non omnis moriar, which so many materialists would have end with material life, doubtless in order to drown apparently the remorse of the gnawing worm which from time to time appears and unintentionally reminds us of the perversities which have been perpetrated (1).

•[771] 1. It is difficult for the Chiriguano to understand spiritual matters, for which reason his ideas concerning the future life are purely material. Without revelation this dogma of faith is not understood.

When the soul of a Chiriguano leaves the body, it does not die. All, without realizing it or even suspecting it, have this idea of the immortality of the soul. Mourning and sentiments of grief, burial, and things that they put in the coffin when someone dies, with which I shall deal later, are related to this. Should someone ask them about this, they would answer, "Mahanu" How will it be? I don't know. In spite of this ignorance, in order to express their thoughts regarding the soul and its immortality, they admit that there are three places for souls: Tunparenta, Iboca, and Cuarasigüi, Heaven, Purgatory, and Hell.

[123] [191] I am going to deal with the three, rectifying what concerns Iboca, which belief I was acquainted with from the beginning of residence among the race and an account of which can be found in my little Nene, which was printed in the year 1905 to help Chiriguano children learn the Spanish or Castilian language.

The Tunparenta is literally the place of God, or his dwelling place, as the añarenta is the dwelling place of the devil. I have already noted the fact that Tunpa is the source of good, of all virtue, of everything good: Tecocavi. With this idea that he has of God, the Chiriguano naturally concludes that God only

/143 cont./

Prayers

•771 Certainly the fact that this race does not have external manifestations of worship greatly attracts the attention of men of science and missionaries. The Chiriguano is born and grows like a little lamb is born and grows. They do not know where they come from, and all of their actions are reduced to pure nature. The Chiriguano never raises his mind or his heart upward. He discusses the firmament; he counts the stars and even separates them into groups as though by astronomical principles; he admires the grandiosity of the sun and of the moon, he understands the beneficence of the nourishing world, but the totality remains mute and silent before the works of nature or of creation. Visible things do not lead the intelligence of the Chiriguano to the knowledge of the Cause of such effects, and inasmuch as he has a rather vague idea of God, he does not offer worship to Him or to anything which resembles Him.

782 It is consequently useless to look for idols in this country, just as it is extremely useless to inquire about temples or hermitages for religious gatherings. Prayers, however much they may be investigated, are very abridged, if there are any, and are not worth being called such, because they are rather a kind of boasting by the one uttering them, in order that all may see that he is eloquent in speaking. This is what they do in the general gatherings when they drink for many days and eat in the plaza. Enthusiasm comes in the heat of drinking, and, on seeing an immense multitude, someone will raise his voice, saying more or less the following: Cheru Tunpa, icaviño taicó, pucu emeé cheve cherecovena, cherimbiuna emoñimoña cheve, tacherori catu taicó, anu tamano. My God, make me be well off, give me a long life, make my food be produced, give me happiness, do not allow me to die (2).

2. The only thing that the Chiriguano wants is to live forever, but he sees that it is impossible and contents himself with expressing his vehement desire, but he does not believe that death comes to him naturally.

4: Nino--213 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/155 cont./

771 I shall end this fourth chapter by repeating that the Chiriguano in his religion, divinities, and beliefs confuses in extraordinary fashion beings who are good and bad, real and imaginary, as well as fabulous beliefs which conform in substance to certain Biblical tales. The Indian eats, drinks, and sleeps, and he lives like any four-legged animal; he thinks only of the sorcerer, consulting him in his emergencies of illness or want and other calamities, believing that he has the power to alleviate it, there not being any prayer properly speaking.

[156] [152]

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Chapter Five

Political Organization and Authorities

Introduction

The French Revolution at the end of the eighteenth century set the foundations for the present anarchy with the dethroning and decapitation of the unfortunate and virtuous rulers Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette. /The remainder of p. 156 and the first two paragraphs of p. 157 are omitted in the translation. The following illustration appears opposite p. 157. The remainder of p. 157 follows./

Let it thus be understood that in this Catholic nation /Bolivia/ only the Catholic religion can contain the fury of the human beast. Let the religious orders and the Colegios de Propaganda Fide be promoted, as in the bordering nations, let firm support be given to the Catholics, as in Germany, and there will neither be the explosion of anarchist bombs nor will the heads of the rulers roll through the streets and squares, nor will the corpses of the great lie stiff, victims of the revolver or the sword of shadowy men.

/234 cont./

539 "I further wish," the Aguara-Tunpa continued, "that you may never /235/ forget the day on which your bad luck made you inferior to your companion; take also this button which will distinguish you from the descendants of the one who is your superior." He made a hole in his lower lip and put the tembeta on him; and that was the beginning of the difference between the white race, or caray, and the Chiriguano, who believe that they owe their misfortune to the Aguara-Tunga (1).

1. Today few Indians believe in such a legend. They consider the fox to be a four-footed animal and the rascal that he is, and the young people listen to storytelling just because they like to hear it.

800 Here we have humanity left to its free will, without being enlightened by the true religion; they believe in a patchwork of lies and superstitions; they respect or are frightened by a wild animal, giving it the name of a marvelous being able to do good or evil to them; tremble in the presence of a dauntless fox, who is a thief without intelligence or speech, and disfigure the faces of their children, making the goodness, strength, prestige, and nobility of the individual consist of a piece of tin, wood, or hollow cane; they subject their tender and delicate damsels to rigorous fasting, to imprisonment for months and even a year, because of a false belief in sorcery, in supposed sicknesses and spells, ruining their health and even risking their lives (2).

799 800 177

2. Almost all the present-day Chiriguano have a slight smattering of the true religion; for this reason they no longer concern themselves with their old customs of fasting, hiding, putting on the tembeta, and long hair.

/266 cont./

574 576 [194] The second t of the word tuti is pronounced double (1).

1. In other places the salutation is different. They say Catapiri or Aguyeti, good things, prosperity. But the other seems to me to be more in conformity with the universal salutation, as is done everywhere.

If the visitor is a person he knows, the host then says, Nde pa co? Is it thee? And the other answers, Checo, it is I, and then goes on to say Imeño pa nei? Are you living? Imeño aí, I am living. And he enters the house of his uncle, grandfather, brother-in-law, or whoever it may be, since it seems that the Chiriguano has relatives everywhere, and he would have them all over the world, if there were Chiriguano all over the world.

574 576 622 Often it is the cacique who receives strangers, if these come looking for him, as naturally happens, but any Indian at whose house he may come will at once say to him with all courtesy, Eyú, come in, if he is on foot, and Egüeyi, come down, if he is mounted. At once he presents him with the best seat that he has and begins the conversation; meanwhile the lady of the house puts at his disposal a large jar of chicha with the respective maté or tumbler, and, aided by her daughters, she prepares the best meal. The captain, or cacique, of Tiasía prepared for me a maté of boiled corn with salt, arivivi, or very hot chili peppers, and hard-boiled eggs chopped into small pieces.

123 [622]

I noted the great cleanness of the food and the utensils, and then, as I have already said elsewhere, I had a long talk with the Indian, who was quite loquacious and frank, about various religious matters, and in conclusion he made me understand that he would not go to the Boicovo Mission or to the others, because prayer and baptism cause death; that my companions and I had made it not rain that night in order that we might not get wet, and that it is not God who created man, and, when asked who it was, he answered naturally and with astonishment, Ndicuaá á pa? Don't you know? (2) /Illustration appears here./

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2. In the other place I did not set down everything

[Text Continues on P.362]

/266 cont./

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791 that the cacique had said with reference to their idea of the missionary, whom they consider to be very powerful with regard to the elements of nature; this Indian's ideas concerning the creation of man are very base and immoral; other, more enlightened ones do not tell it this way.

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576 /267/ Whether the visit is long or short, at the time of leaving the guest thanks the master of the house, saying, Ayirobia catu ndereé, I thank you very much, and goes off, saying, Aha ye ma, I am going, and the master of the house answers, Tunpa reño eguata, travel or go with God, but first he makes him promise to come back to visit him whenever it is convenient.

Carnival

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197 If I ask the Indians of Ivu who introduced the carnival among them, some answer that it was the subprefect of Lagunillas who came and built a small fort here and another in Cuevo; others say that it was a white man whom I know and shall not name, and I conclude that it was both of them. The former told them that the carnival was a fiesta of merrymaking, and the latter taught them to do it the way they do it today, as I shall go on to describe. If I ask other Indians, they answer that they learned it from the whites, from which it can be deduced that this general madness is not their own; they do it because they like everything which smacks of killing time, drinking, and dancing. The very word "carnival" indicates that it is not a Chiriguano [184] fiesta; therefore it should not be confused with the Mbapa páure, which is somewhat similar because of its immorality; this latter is older and is not found in every tribe, in addition to having a set time, after the first cold until about the middle of July (1).

[648] 1. The whites of Cordillera, with their chief, set up the said fortifications after the rebels who had attacked Igüembe had been defeated; they had not come to help the subprefect of Azero.

/156 cont./ Ce 115
from the often vulgar, empty whites. Batirayu, however, is also an exceptional man, the makings of a great man, who is condemned to idleness.

Ce 197 171 648 Ce 101
Batirayu is a Chané. These Indians now speak the same language as the Chiriguano, namely, Guarani. Most of their customs and usages correspond to those of the Chiriguano, by whom they were probably subjugated. According to their origin, however, they are Arowaken /Arawak/ and hence the most southerly dwellers of this group, which had, and still has, a wide distribution in South America and on the Antilles.

Ce 128 171 771
/157/ If I describe the Chané and the Chiriguano together here, it is because their material culture is so similar. Nevertheless, I have indicated in which tribe I made this or that observation; this is especially true for the religious domain, in which the Chané, at least on the Rio Parapiti, have kept many old conceptions which are unknown to the Chiriguano.

Ce 197 554 273
Batirayu told me that a few of the Chané still knew some words of the old language of the tribe. He said that especially at the drinking bouts, when they are intoxicated, they give themselves airs by speaking the old Chané language, which otherwise has the character of a secret language.

Ce 124 197 119
In the company of Batirayu I set out for the village of "Huirapembe" where the Indians who knew Chané best were supposed to be found. It was not easy to draw their secrets out of them. Actually, only the youngest ones, who knew the least, were willing to tell me something (1). One old woman who was Ce

1. Ce 192 197

	Chané	Chiriguano	Mojo
Water	ñne	y	ene
Maize	sopóno	ahuãti	seponi
Fire	yucu	tãta	yucu
Dog	tamúco	yaúmba	tamucu
Chicha (good)	liqui	cãngui	itico
Rat	cóvo	angúya	cono.

St Schmidt--231 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

Ce 692 643 28

/89 cont./
of the deceased (359).

359. Nord. 1, p. 231.

C 421

Private property is highly respected among the Chiriguano. According to Métraux, even the closest relatives cannot make use of the property of one of them without his consent. The

C 423

possession of a piece of land is guaranteed to a Chiriguano by planting any plant on it or by clearing the circumference of the land required and making large slashes in the trees. When he selects a plot for his planting, the Chiriguano examines it carefully to determine that there are no traces of a previous planting (360).

360. Métraux I, pp. 334 and 340.

C 241 496 [622]

After the land selected for the planting has been cleared, relatives and friends are called together to help with the work. Formerly, the cacique of the town also took part by keeping watch for the workers (361).

361. Métraux I, p. 337.

/96/

Religion

Ce 797 991 178 538

In their many years of activity the missions have naturally influenced notably the religious notions of the Chiriguano and Chané. Most of them today are Christians. Some still retain part of their primordial ideas, expressed in their legends. I shall limit myself here to referring the reader again to the Chané legends taken down by Nordenskiöld (362) and mentioned several times in the preceding.

362. Nord. 1, pp. 251-296.